162 of about four, a girl of about 11, and another girl of less than a year. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

171 846 We see, therefore, that the Tapirapé resemble the Karajá and Kayapó, as well as Indians of the upper Xingu basin, the Tupinambá, and other Tupi tribes, in practicing the couvade. [Ed., end of Vol. 123.]

553 [192] [124:139] In Tapirapé, herang means "name" and corresponds to the word héra cited by Montoya (2, II, 154) and céra by Stradelli (413). The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me that, among them, it is the mother who gives the newborn baby a name and who [304] perforates the lower lip and ear lobes of a boy with a bone pin at dawn of the day following birth. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

551 No two or more Tapirapé ever bear the same name at the same time. I was able to discover the meaning of only a few. Animal names prevail among the women. In 1935 there was a woman over 40 years old whose name was Purangkeʃ, that is, "little electric eel." Another, about 35 years old, was called Tamanuaʃ, or "great anteater" with [124:140] the addition of the diminutive i, and an old woman of about 45 had the name Anampaʃ, anampá being a fresh-water eel. A girl of 11 was called Chauevuyra, that is, "fresh-water ray," and another girl of six Tanchahó, the name of the white-lipped peccary. In 1947 there was a year-old girl whose name, Kaʃ, is that of the capuchin monkey. Among the men, I only found one in 1935 whose name I could identify with that of an animal, and it was a generic name, Vuyraʃ, "little bird," a somewhat humorous appellation in view of the man s thick, robust body. Other translatable names, aside from those of animals, are Kanuana, belonging to an eight-year-old girl, meaning "thunder" and "gourd rattle," and the names of two boys I knew in 1947, who were two and four years old, respectively, Yvytuʃ, "wind," and Ekonomʃchinga, "white boy."

171 551 According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (370), the Tupinambá bore the names of "animals, fish, birds, trees, foods, weapons and various other things," according to Staden (r 1) of "forest animals," and according to Vicente de Salvador (41) of "animals, plants, or whatever chances to come before their eyes."

000 This last author also notes about those Indians that "... they do not regard killing as prowess unless they break heads, even

000 those of people killed by others, and whatever number of heads they break, that many names they take, casting off the name given by their father at birth... but the name they take they will not tell (even when begged to do so) except at great festivities with wine and songs in their honor..."

553 It sometimes happened that when I asked for the name of a certain Tapirapé, the person in question would give me one name and some other person present would give another. When I asked which of the names was more commonly used, I was always told that a Tapirapé adult, as a rule, has "many" names. According to what I was able to observe, however, each person was called, as a rule, by a single name which remained the same throughout the time of my visit in 1935. This does not invalidate the information they gave me, however, for a Tapirapé does receive other names aside from the one he is given at birth, although this is done for reasons very different from those leading to the proliferation of names among the Tupinambá. Reverend Kegel witnessed a festive gathering in September, which he described to me as follows. After sundown, in the moonlight, the men sat on mats in the Tampiitaua plaza divided into two groups, one facing the other. One of the leaders of the village stood between the two groups, inventing names. Whenever a name came to his mind, he would call one of the men present, and walk hither and yon humming a song that included the new name of the person he had called, the name being sometimes jocular and sometimes serious in meaning.

[124:141] Kamairahó, the principal leader, told me that at three different ages he had had successively the following names: ●[551] Pancheengví, Ananavuytingí, and Kanchoarioí. Only after the death of his father did he adopt his present name, which was the name of his father and of all his male ancestors in the paternal line. He added that only then did he marry. He stated further that like him, all Tapirapé have several successive names through childhood and adulthood.

It may be, as I shall show, that they were given these names but did not use them. In Tampiitaua in 1947 I identified nine Tapirapé males and six females, and with less certainty another male and seven other females, whom I had known at the time of my previous visit. In 1935, I had figured out the ages of the nine

553 still young and lacked the political weight of the illustrious dead man.

One day, as I talked to Kamairahó about the "name-giving festivity" mentioned above, I complained about not having received a Tapirapé name as Reverend Kegel had and this only because my companion had the opportunity to be present at that gathering while I did not. The Indian immediately gave me his own name. Yves d'Evreux writes of the Tupinambá in Maranhão:
171 "They also have another manner of giving names, and this is when
553 they are fond of you, and show the high regard in which they hold you, by giving you their own name"[translated from French]. The exchange of names for motives of respect and friendship is a custom found among tribes in various parts of South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

It should be added that I, naturally, also gave my name to
553 Kamairahó. Such exchanges of names, at least among the Tapirapé, are to some extent merely done in jest. Thus, I was called Kamairahó only a few times and smilingly, while I never heard Reverend Kegel called by his Tapirapé name or the Indian leader by my own.

It certainly cannot be said that the Tapirapé hide their
171 name, or one of their names, as did the Tupinambá according to
551 the above-quoted observation by Vicente de Salvador. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me their names with apparent pleasure, and many of them repeated the name several times until I pronounced it properly, and asked me about it [124:143] again on subsequent occasions to see whether I had learned it correctly. They differed in this respect from the Kayapó, who do not reveal their own name according to Krause (2, 401). The latter was able to find out their names only through a third person, and they were given in a very low voice. The Karajá never made it a problem to tell me their own names. Like the Tapirapé, they are very desirous to find out about ours, and soon after the visitor s arrival they ask for his name, that of his wife, his children, and other relatives.

On the other hand, many of the inhabitants of Tampiitaua
551 were ignorant of the names of their deceased parents, and nearly
171 all were unfamiliar with those of their grandparents and other rela-
173 tives who were no longer alive, so we cannot assert that the Tapirapé are as interested in their own genealogy as are, for example, the Kaingang tribe of the so-called Botocudo of Santa

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551 Catarina, Xokleng [Shokleng] or Aveikoma [Aweikoma], studied by Henry (50). [Ed., end of Vol. 124.]

[127:231] CHILDHOOD

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855 Father Fernão Cardim (310) wrote of the Tupinambá: "There is nothing parents love more than their own children, and he who does something for the children can obtain anything from the parents." Roughly, this sentence could be applied to nearly all Brazilian tribes and to the Tapirapé among them. This love is
855 manifested in the understanding with which the adults treat the children. An Indian father would never answer his child's question with: "This is grownup stuff you can't understand," thus destroying, in the fashion of certain White fathers, the trust with which the child seeks out his most learned friend. The Indian father does not speak to the child with an air of superiority, and consequently there is no chasm between them, such as frequently separates children from adults among us.

In fact, a Tapirapé will show patience toward a child even before he reaches the age of asking for explanations. I shall never forget the attitude of Vuanomanchí when a small child seated in his lap urinated on his bare legs. No fuss! This worthy family man did not even get up. He took a piece of straw from the ground and pushed down the liquid with it. He neither scrubbed nor washed himself. He uttered no word and made no motion that might disturb the child.

[127:232] Nor shall I forget the behavior of Maeyma during the illness of his little girl. Several women were weeping around the girl's hammock, and Maeyma was the only man who was crying. Seated in his hammock, he covered his face with his hands and sobbed. He seemed to have lost weight during the short period of
[262] [755] his child's illness. As befits a mindful father, he ate nothing during this time except for a little maize cauí and manioc flour. On the following day, when the girl seemed to have improved, Maeyma, lying in the hammock held her like something breakable, and when he moved his hands he did so gingerly.

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855 In the Tapirapé tribe, as in many others, the intimate and continuous connection between child and parents is acknowledged and

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
264 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens
224 that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 476 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.

264 At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided
551 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananivũãna, Maniitivuéra, Kãũũãnõĩ, Tãũãupéra, Ãmpirampé, Avãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtáupáũã. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivũnã (a variety of manioc), Ãvãïnki' with vũaiki'tã (a variety of manioc). This may be
[771] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
551 476 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tãtáupáũã designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
476 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampiãũã"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement
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264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtãupãũã. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirũ resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] [291] ãũvanaí 'shadows' live in the takána. Their headdress and breechcloth are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxína) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takána. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaí have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takána, where they eat it. In the apatxirũ, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaí are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaí.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirũ.

For the apatxirũ, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĩra. The word vuĩra means "bird," and the name of •[551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxá, and Vuírantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ́; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĩ́; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãntaĩva. 264 622 476 651 The ãntaĩva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĩ́ and Urukumĩ́. (Although Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

away on the Araguaiá River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to welcome us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embarrassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed